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ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the *mamatsayiran*, (2) the *maluvtsivtsik*, and (3) the *pualu*. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade *pualu*. The aristocratic class is generally called *mamatsayiran*, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called *avusamay*, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the *maluvtsivtsik* or consanguineous, and the *naitsu a n²nmax* or affinal. The big chief *ruvaniau* belongs to the Chimo group. Three *maluvtsivtsik* of the *ruvaniau* are the south *tʃalas*, the north *tʃalas*, and the *tʃaluŋi*. Among the *naitsu a numax* are the *voto*, the *tara²atea*, the *gumul*, the *matsiliat*, and the *tʃalusayiu* of the Chimo, and the *atsinajay*, the *lusiguay* and the *aliolay* of the Paiwan. The big chief *ruvaniau* possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south *tʃalas* possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (*unutel*) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (*utsiputsipoy*) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or *usam* to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or *muluvtsivtsik*. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The *utsiputsipoy* is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the *utsiputsipoy* household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the *utsiputsipoy* are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own *umax* or house. The *umax* or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its *yatay a numax* or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

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or establish a new house if not married to an heir or heiress. There is, thus, a lineal relation between these households. One which has a further relationship with the household from which it derived is lower in rank. Their lineage rules may be summarized as follows:

a) A household is the nucleus of this lineage system.

b) The lineage who first established their house in the village is regarded as the grand lineage or *mamatsayiran*.

c) The house and the name of the house are succeeded too by primogeniture regardless of sex. The heir or *usam* must remain in the house and succeed to the name.

d) Each offspring other than the heir who is married to the heir of another household or establish a new household and take a new house name if married to one who is not the heir, is called the lesser lineage or *maluwtsivtsik*.

e) The rule of succession of a lesser lineage is similar to that of a grand lineage. The son of a lesser lineage is degraded to become commoner or *tala?alalak*.

f) Offspring of a vassal household other than the heir are degraded as commoners.

g) If the household has no heir, it is succeeded by the second son or daughter, even he or she is married out. This second son or daughter who has established a lesser lineage of his own, will give his own lineage up, and return to his prime house to succeed to the lineage. If a lesser lineage has no heir, it may be succeeded to by members from the grand lineage. The vassal will take care of the grand lineage when the heir to succeed the lineage is not yet decided.

B. Marriage rules

a) Residence

1. The heir of a household must remain in the house, and have his spouse come to live with him.

2. Family members other than the heir may marry a heir of another household and goes to his spouse's house.

3. When both the husband and the wife are no heir or heiress, they will establish a new house and have a neolocal residence.

4. If a heir marries with a heiress, this new couple will succeed to both households.

b) Class

1. One who marries one of his own rank is called *metsevoy*. Their offsprings belong to the same rank.

2. One who marries one of a higher rank is called *sluzua*. He himself and his offsprings will have a higher rank too.

3. One who marries one of a lower rank is called *sluzoja*. He and his offsprings will have a lower rank too.

The Paiwan practise endogamy but not in a strict sense. It may be estimated by the quantity of the bride price. A certain quantity of bride price is set for a certain

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his parents, or if the daughter-in-law does not live harmoniously and affably with her parent-in-laws, the newly married couple may move out and live by themselves. In some cases, the parents may choose to live with their eldest or second son and not necessarily with the youngest, though this may be an exception. Therefore *βaβuʔan* is a kind of limited extended family or "compromise family". 592

If a family has only a daughter and no son, or though it has a son who is disliked by the parents, the daughter may remain in her parents's family and the residential system will be matrilocal, that is, her husband will come to live with her and her parents. [591]

After the deaths of the parents, the elder brother has to take up the responsibility for taking care of his unmarried younger siblings, so they may come to live with their elder brother. A widowed sister, widowed sister-in-law, parentless nephew or niece may also depend upon the *otox βaβuʔan*. Divorce and remarriage are frequent. The family with remarried spouse may have half-siblings.

2. *saliʔ*

saliʔ is a kin group larger than a *βaβuʔan*. *saliʔ* originally also means "family". In *tapilas*, *saliʔ* refers to two kinds of organization: in its narrow sense, *saliʔ* means "family", in its broader sense, "consanguinity".

(1) *saliʔ* in its narrow sense: A man, as stated above, usually establishes a new *βaβuʔan* after he is married. But his new house is always erected close to or sometimes adjacent to his parents'. Thus it may be regarded as an extension of the parents' house. This kind of kin group, which includes par··ts' and their offsprings' households, is called *otox* or *qotox saliʔ*. It is clear then that a *saliʔ*, though it resembles a family, is not always merely one "family", it may be defined as "kindred", as the term has been employed by W. H. R. Rivers. 596 612

(2) *saliʔ* in its broader sense: On paternal side, *saliʔ* consists of lineal ascendants up to third generation and collaterals including tertiary relatives. In other words, it is a group of agnates who share a common grand-grand-father, this group thus includes the brothers and sisters of the grand-father and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group of kinsmen is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jotas ta*, which literally means "of the same grandfather of father". On maternal side, *saliʔ* consists of mother's father, mother's brother, and one's maternal cousins. In other words, it is a group of maternal agnates who share a common mother's father, this group thus includes mother's brothers, sisters, and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jaja miam*, which literally means "of the same mother's father". Members of the same *saliʔ* are cognates to each other, so *saliʔ* may be translated as "consanguinities". Marriage is prohibited between members of the same generation within the *saliʔ*. Therefore a *saliʔ* is also a patrilineal bilateral type exogamous group. 613

3. *cəlo* and *caca*

A consanguineous group larger than a *saliʔ* is called a *cəlo* or *caca*. *cəlo* means 621

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621 "companions". In the Atayal, a hunting group is organized by men each of whom comes from each family of the village. This group of people hunt together, and divide the game they have gotten. If a villager commits a crime, such as one who is going to marry another member of the same *pinsaqaʔan*, or one who is proposing to divorce his spouse, etc., the person concerned must offer a sacrifice, a pig or a chicken, and holds a *xalion* or a ceremony of breaking taboo for atonement. This ceremony will be attended by all household-heads of the group which hunt together. When the ceremony is over, the sacrifice will be divided among the attendants and will be eaten by them to avert evil influence. Of the above mentioned organizations, the former is a hunting group, and the latter a group for consuming sacrifice together. The *Seqoleq* Atayal call the former *litan*, and the latter *neqan*, but the *tapilas* is rather ignorant of these two terms, they refer to all participants as *otox* or *qotox* *cəlo*, which means "of the same *cəlo*".

caca means "tradition". In time of land clearing, seed-sowing, crop-harvesting, and ritual-hunting, all household-heads participate in the ritual to make offerings to their ancestors. After the ritual is over, the feast starts. The participants are called *otox* or *qotox* *caca* which means "of the same *caca*" or "of the same tradition". In *tapilas*, a *caca* is also a hunting group and a group for consuming sacrifice together as stated above, therefore, there is no distinction between a "*caca*" and a *cəlo*".

4. *camil*

613 There is another kind of unilateral type of kin group called *camil*. *camil* means "root". Those who descend from the same ancestor are called *otox* or *qotox* *camil* or "of the same *camil*". So *camil* has a similar meaning to the Chinese term "tsung" (lineage). A "tsung" is a unilateral kin group. The descent rule of the Atayal is patrilineal, therefore a *camil* is a patrilineal kin group which resembles a lineage of the clannish society. Utsurikawa has translated *camil* as *shizoku* or clan, but, as the present author has noticed, it differs from a clan, because it is not an exogamous unit and is not organized into a certain form of group. People who have the same grand-grand-father can not intermarry with each other. A woman is excluded from the *camil* of her parents and joins her husband's after she is married. A man who has married into his wife's family belongs to his wife's *camil*. In the wedding ceremony, when a bride is sent to bridegroom's house, the go-between always intiates his address to the bride with the following words: "You were belonging to the *camil* so-and-so, but now you have become a member of the *camil* so-and-so". As stated in the foregoing section. *tapilas* has two principal *camils*: One is the *camil tapilas*, which the Chief *βujoŋ-tolai* belongs to. The first ancestor of the *camil* within their memory is called *ijo*. *βujoŋ-tolai*'s grandson is a member in the seventh generation descended from *ijo*. Another is the *camil məlilax*, which the vice-chief *joqex-etex* belongs to. The vicechief's son is in his descendants of the seventh generation counting from the first ancestor. Still another is called *camil majaʔan*, which is the *camil* of our first guide *βaʔai-qaino*. Their first ancestor is called *uʃi*. *βaʔai-qaino*'s son is in his

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descendants of the sixth generation counting from him. It is said that about 80 years ago, *ufi* lived originally in Shih-t'an Hsiang. It was his son *layao-ufi* that moved to Hu-shan. *layao-ufi* had a daughter *qojo-layao* and a son *βaitso-layao*. *qojo-layao* married *taimo-layao*, the grandfather of *joqex-etex*. *βaitso-layao*, the younger brother of *qojo-layao*, had entered *camil maililax* because he was brought up in his sister's husband's family which belonged to *camil məililax*. This case indicates that a *camil* member may not be cansanguinity, A *camil* may include members from other *camil*. Thus *tapilas* is a local social group which is interwoven by the above mentioned k groups.

III. HEAD-HUNTING

Though the Atayal has been famous for their old custom of headhunting, the *Tseo²le²* Tribe which inhabits the regions closer to the plains occupied by the Han people, abandoned the custom earlier than other tribes. In *tapilas* and *paqali*, only a few persons have had experience of head-hunting. The *fiaqalo* Atayal kept the custom until more recent time because they had lived formerly in a more remote regions known as *jaβayan* and *loxqax*. They were coerced by the Japanese to move into this region. The following accounts were given by *joqex-etex* and *taqun-nomin* (70 years of age, he had moved from *loxqax* of *fiaqalo*). In the following descriptions when the custom of these two villages do not accord with each other, (m) indicates that of the former, and (s) that of the latter.

1. Reasons for undertaking a head-hunting expedition

Head-hunting in Atayal is called *mə-qaqa*. It means "to observe the old tradition". According to the motive of the expedition, it may be divided into the following three kinds: (1) for blood vengeance; (2) for military achievement; and (3) for settling dispute. The former two are called *məqetsβo*(m) or *məfiβo*(s), which means "hunting"; the last one is called *məqulaqam*(m) or *²əmolas no qoaq*(s), which means "settling dispute". The former two kinds are employed to venge oneself against the member of another tribe or sometimes one's own tribe; the latter kind undertaken to settle a quarrel between kinsmen. The result of the headhunting expedition, whether it has succeeded or failed, is regarded as the judgement on the case shown by the wishes of their ancestral spirits; therefore the quarrel could be thus settled. It is for this reason that they must carry with them a *tsineto*(s) or *tenato*(m) or a guardian bag.

2. The organization of a hunting expedition

To organize a head-hunting expedition permission must be securred from the Chief. An expedition may consist of two or three or as many as seventy persons. In *tapilas*, participants, as a rule, are enlisted from the same *camil*, though sometimes members of a friendly *camil* may also join them. The participants elect their own *paqa-lain* or leader. The leader is to hold ceremonies and to command attacks.

3. Oath and New fire

After the expedition has been organized, all participants assemble in a certain